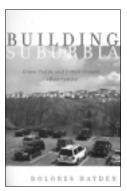
Reviews

BOOKS

Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Suburban Growth, 1820–2000

By Dolores Hayden. New York: Pantheon Books, 2003; 248 pp., notes, bibliography, index; cloth \$26.00; paper \$15.00.



How did suburbia happen? That's the question that historian Dolores Hayden tackles in her latest book. Hayden first became required reading in college classrooms when she explored 19th-century architecture through women's eyes in *The Grand*

Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities (1981). She moved from history to contemporary critique with Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing and Family Life (1984). Her subsequent book, The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History (1995), became a landmark in the public history movement, calling on historians, artists, and planners to create work-a-day monuments to ordinary Americans. All of Hayden's writings are informed by a spirit of activism, an insistence that history must include many voices, and a refreshing confidence that by understanding our past we can come together to create a more equitable future.¹

In *Building Suburbia*, Hayden offers an engaging addition to the history of suburbia that began with the publication of Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass*

Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States in 1985.² Hayden's goal is to meld ideas harvested from dozens of scholarly books and obscure articles to create a clear and accessible narrative of suburban development in America.

Where previous scholars usually pointed to transportation innovations to explain suburbanization, Hayden offers a more complex and satisfying framework. She suggests that Americans have a "triple dream" of a single-family house, access to nature, and a community of neighbors. Since World War II, government policies have played a role in realizing the dream. Hayden's book is the first to show the impact of arcane developments such as federal tax policy. Federal Government subsidies to home builders and shopping center developers created a landscape long on houses and shopping strips but short on the parks, sidewalks, and transit options that create genuine neighborhoods. While America has indeed become the land of the single-family house, the natural and community components of the "triple dream" have been shortchanged.

Hayden tracks the history of suburbia through seven phases. "Borderlands" beyond the urban edge saw construction of individual "country villas" for the elite starting as early as the 1820s. Wealthy "Picturesque Enclaves" were the next phase, such as avowedly communitarian Llewellyn Park outside of New York City. "Streetcar Buildouts" is Hayden's somewhat awkward name for the developments that popped up along late-19th-century trolley routes, offering middle-income and even some working-class families a house with a yard. The chapter on "Mail-Order

and Self-Built Suburbs" introduces readers to exciting recent scholarship on fiercely independent self-building at the city's edge, typified by working-class African American families in Eight-Mile Wyoming, outside of Detroit. Hayden hits her stride in chapters entitled "Sitcom Suburbs" and "Edge Nodes," exploring federal actions that created places such as Levittown, Pennsylvania, and Tysons Corner, Virginia. "Rural Fringes" brings the story up to the fast-sprawling present. In a coda, Hayden examines nascent trends from "neotraditional" community planning to computer-linked "smart houses."

If *Building Suburbia*'s categories sometimes seem fuzzy—it is hard to put a finger on how "rural fringes" differ philosophically from "sitcom suburbs,"—the device works nicely to pull us through 200 years of American suburban history. Readers will be inspired to delve into books and articles cited in the 53 pages of footnotes and bibliography. And perhaps readers will ask new questions. How has federal aid to sewer and waterline extension spurred suburbanization? How does the United States' experience compare with that of Great Britain, where the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 set strict growth boundaries aimed at containing sprawl?

Suburban history is a history of America. And, for all of our complaints about quality of life, suburbanization shows no sign of slowing. Hayden writes, "Since the 1980s, new development on the rural fringes...has expanded to cover more square miles than central cities, older suburbs and edge nodes combined." We continue to reach ever-outward for that elusive "triple dream."

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I. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981); originally published under a slightly different title, the book appeared in a revised edition: Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life* (New York: Norton, 2002);

Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

- 2. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- 3. Federal aid to sewer extension began in 1956 and increased dramatically in 1972. Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Other 'Subsidized Housing': Federal Aid to Suburbanization, 1940s–1960s," in *From Tenements to Taylor Homes: In Search of Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth Century America*, ed. John Bauman, Roger Biles, and Kristin Szlvian (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 163–179.

In Light of Our Differences: How Diversity in Nature & Culture Makes Us Human

By David Harmon. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002; 224 pp., tables, graphs, notes, references, index; cloth \$38.00.

Great movements on the verge of advances concern themselves with values, philosophies, and reasons why change is needed. The resulting forward leaps tend to produce numerous tasks to be carried out, causing a reorientation from the abstract to the practical. Philosophy prevailed when the tiny historic preservation movement was rallying itself to create the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966—the first major federal historic preservation legislation in a generation. Later, practicality dominated as more than a dozen amendments and other new laws drastically increased the work to be done. Perhaps it is significant that David Harmon's small but powerful book, In Light of Our Differences: How Diversity in Nature & Culture Makes Us Human, returns to philosophy and links history and nature a generation after 1966.

Forty years ago sweeping change was afoot in historic preservation. Outdated practices rooted in the Romantic era venerated historic "shrines." Often these were birthplaces or graves of men (seldom women and almost always white) to whom virtues larger than life were ascribed. This was easily achieved by preserving and interpreting a small number of places of outstanding national significance.

In the meantime, America's cities, towns, and countryside were impacted like never before by federally sponsored dredging, damming, and channeling of rivers; construction of interstate highways and urban expressways; and wholesale demolition of cities for urban renewal. The changes threatened to make every part of the land like every other part. Preservationists began to recognize that our national well-being depends on the full spectrum of our cultural environment, including shrines and everyday places. With the National Historic Preservation Act, significance moved from birthplaces and graves to the meaningful work of individuals and groups, and the purpose of preservation grew to include benefiting from our daily surroundings as well as from contemplation of venerable achievements.

The workload of historic preservation quickly outgrew the number of people available to do the work. State historic preservation offices, federal agency programs, tribal programs, certified local governments, and private firms began to carry the burden. The movement began to focus more on how to do preservation than on why it ought to be done. Predictably, accomplishments began to outpace the philosophical foundations of historic preservation. Soon a very effective network of preservationists covered the entire country, but with little depth. Poor understanding of why we preserve often negatively affects how we preserve.

In the meantime, our colleagues who strive to preserve the natural environment also have struggled under an outdated concept rooted in the Romantic era—the idea that nature is that which is not human. This has made it difficult to rationalize, much less to coordinate, the work of two worlds of preservation—natural and cultural. Governments have wondered whether to highlight cultural

resource programs in specialized agencies, to merge them with natural resource programs that protect species and habitats, or to segregate natural resource programs from all influence of the cultural forces that threaten natural resources. The problem is perfectly exemplified in the National Park Service. The bureau's mastery of both natural and cultural resource management will require thought, reflection, and erudition.

In Light of Our Differences takes both kinds of preservationists back to basics. One might expect a unified approach from Harmon, who is cofounder of Terralingua, an international nonprofit supporting the world's linguistic, cultural, and biological diversity, and executive director of the George Wright Society, an organization of natural and cultural resource management specialists. Drawing upon philosophers, biologists, anthropologists, and others who have contributed to developing Western civilization, this book forges a long overdue concept of the relationship of humans to biocultural diversity—the natural and cultural contexts that our species shapes, is shaped by, and depends upon. Natural diversity has affected who we are as a species, and cultural diversity affects who we are as cultural groups. Harmon argues that biocultural diversity affects humans and is affected by humans in parallel ways. The effects are most apparent in the extinction of individual species and in the extinction of characteristics that define individual cultures.

It is easy to agree with Harmon that languages are probably the deepest and most obvious indicators of cultural diversity. When the National Park Service took the initial steps to develop tribal preservation programs, discussions focused more on indigenous languages than on tangible cultural resources. On a global scale, Harmon says, languages now are becoming extinct at the same rate as species. Furthermore, both species and languages are becoming extinct in the same places and from the same causes.

Unlike past great extinctions of species, which resulted from cataclysms such as asteroid collisions with Earth, the extinction now under way is almost certainly due to the actions of just one species: *homo sapiens*. The wasteful consumption of resources in society that dominates the world today, the desire of the rest of the world to achieve the same level of luxury, and the increased effect of the dominant culture through globalization and other means are among the forces causing natural and cultural extinctions.

Why does philosophy matter? For the past 4,000 years, many humans have believed themselves above nature, exercising divinely granted dominion. Instead we are not only products of nature but are also participants in it. We are who we are because evolutionary systems have had an unlimited array of choices. The free exercise of natural choices has led to what we are as a species. The array of cultural choices has led to who we are as cultures. Unfortunately, we are overwhelmingly powerful and dangerous participants in both natural and cultural evolutionary systems. Our power also makes us responsible to ourselves and to the planet for allowing natural and cultural evolutionary systems to continue their ever-unfinished work. That means preserving the diversities of species and cultures that energize the evolutionary systems.

Readers interested in ecosystems, architecture, languages, archeology, species, or natural and cultural resources should take a break from the constant pursuit of ways to improve how you do your work, and follow Harmon through a deeply philosophical review of why the work is important. The why will help you with the how. If we are lucky, perhaps it will also help us progress toward a not-yet-apparent next great advance in the preservation of natural and cultural resources.

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Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States

Edited by Max Page and Randall Mason. New York: Routledge, 2003; 336 pp., illustrations, notes; cloth \$90.00; paper \$22.95.

In Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States, editors Max Page and Randall Mason outline a critical examination and engagement with how a new generation of preservation scholars, activists, and practitioners might return history to the center of our field. Essays by David Lowenthal, Rudy J. Koshar, Chris Wilson, Daniel Bluestone, Robert Weyeneth, Ned Kaufman, and others begin "to sketch," as Page and Mason assert, "the approaches of a new generation of scholarship on the history of historic preservation" that "suggest how preservation today might look different if we took into account an accurate history of the movement." Interestingly, Giving Preservation a History in many ways responds (perhaps unintentionally) to Robert Stipe's A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in *the Twentieth Century* (2003). In that book of essays, Stipe argues that we "must move beyond the problem of saving architectural artifacts and begin to think about how we can conserve urban neighborhoods, rural landscapes, and natural resources for human purposes." Stipe continues that "this is particularly urgent at a time when some special interest and ethnic groups, in an effort to discover their own heritage, have begun to isolate themselves even more, rejecting the notion of a common heritage for all Americans and placing a new emphasis on social and ethnic differences." Stipe does not see what Page and Mason recognize as critical moments in any rethinking or retelling of preservation history: the effects of the civil rights and women's rights movements beginning in the 1960s.

Despite *Giving Preservation a History*'s clarion call for a new set of "views from history" to inform a larger and more comprehensive story of American

preservation, one can argue that the story of racial oppression still remains somewhat marginalized and understated in this seminal reexamination of the discipline of preservation: the history of preservation has roots in our national discourse that begins much earlier than the 1960s. The 1890s provides a better point of departure for understanding the long-term legacy of previous social reform movements based on analytical strategies of research and practice centered on race and gender. Any discussion involving preservation cannot ignore the work of African American women reformers who, in the 1890s, argued for and worked to inscribe a social and political ideology of "race uplift" on the built environment after slavery and the ferment over black nationalism, history, and identity. The story about women and preservation is not limited to Ann Pamela Cunningham and her efforts at Mount Vernon in the 1850s.

In his essay, "Historic Preservation, Public Memory, and the Making of Modern New York City," Mason provides important groundwork for establishing race as a new vantage point for historic preservation practice: "Preservation was among the several types of social-environmental reform that took hold under the rubric of the Progressive movement around the turn of the twentieth century." A new methodology therefore requires us to consider the built environment as a kind of repository of African American women's strategies for self-empowerment and for remembering the impact of enslavement on their communities and American society. While many white Victorians were primarily interested in promoting an appropriate history after the Civil War and consolidating their moral authority over the past, African Americans used space-making as a way of expressing their new-found social, political, and economic independence.

Daniel Bluestone's essay, "Chicago's Mecca Flat Blues," best reflects the kind of work that responds to Mason's challenge, arguing that race can become the critical narrative in a building's history. Bluestone writes that architectural historians have focused far too long on Chicago's skyscrapers and single-family houses while ignoring late-19th-century apartment buildings. Chicago's apartment houses combined public space and the private realm into a kind of hybrid model that some believed inappropriate for modern urban social life. Designed in 1891 by Willoughby J. Edbrooke and Franklin Pierce Burnham, the Mecca apartment building reflects the changing role of natural light and landscape in turn-of-the-century Chicago architecture. The building, once a showcase for Anglo-Saxon "flatseekers" with its glazed interior courtyard, was rented to black tenants by 1919.

The growth of the city's Black Belt and racial violence against African Americans on Chicago's South Side allowed apprehensive whites to label the building "a prime example of the worst slum tenements." Bluestone writes, "Over time, race intersected with urban space to alter the history and fragment public perceptions of the Mecca." The Mecca's decade-long preservation struggle, ending in its demolition to make way for Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Crown Hall at the Illinois Institute of Technology, helped to emphasize the "alternative priorities" of housing and neighborhood over Chicago School aesthetics.

Bluestone, along with other contributors like Chris Wilson, helps to challenge established values and standards of American architectural history. Unfortunately Wilson, in "Place Over Time: Restoration and Revivalism in Santa Fe," waits until almost the end of his essay to critically engage with issues related to working-class Hispanic residents, gentrification, and heritage tourism—issues that are central to reexamining preservation and its future as a tool of civic engagement. I would second Ned Kaufman's concluding remarks in his essay, "Moving Forward: Futures for a Preservation Movement"—

I do ask preservationists to commit themselves and their practice to a social ideal appropriate to the dawn of the twenty-first century: a revitalized notion of citizenship within an equitable society, a public policy based in values of place, an invigorated concept of history, and a healthy skepticism toward growth and market forces. In short, to a passionate struggle to change how society imagines, preserves, and inhabits its heritage—a preservation movement.

Mason and Page argue that expanding solely on existing canons or historiographic conventions may serve only to legitimize the work of historians who have excluded the experiences of marginalized groups. By broadening the fields of architectural history and preservation, and, in particular, by incorporating the experiences of African American women, scholarship will effect a more inclusive dialogue that considers the role of the disempowered to preserve their heritage while initiating change through the built environment.

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I. Robert E. Stipe, ed., A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), xv.

Building the Nation: Americans Write About Their Architecture, Their Cities, and Their Landscape

Edited by Steven Conn and Max Page. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003; 424 pp., illustrations, index; cloth \$59.95; paper \$24.95.

In recent decades, scholars of vernacular architecture, urban history, and cultural geography have embraced interdisciplinary approaches to the built environment. Scholarly works that attempt a broader survey of architectural history, however, continue to rely on stylistic narratives and shopworn accounts of famous landmarks and architects. A notable exception is Dell Upton's

Architecture in the United States, which provided an important thematic revision of the typical chronological survey. The editors of Building the Nation also reject the traditional architectural survey emphasis on style and personality to present a more inclusive picture of the cultural and social forces shaping the built environment of the United States.

Conn and Page gather firsthand accounts and commentary about American architecture and landscapes from a variety of newspapers, magazines, and books published between 1790 and 2001. The authors include well-known critics and scholars such as Lewis Mumford, Jane Jacobs, Ada Louise Huxtable, Paul Goldberger, and Vincent Scully. Prominent writers not normally associated with architectural commentary-including Mark Twain, Washington Irving, Betty Friedan, John Dos Passos, and W.E.B. DuBois—as well as anonymous and lesser-known voices lend interdisciplinary breadth to the collection. Because the editors seek to present the "lively public conversations that have taken place over the course of the nation's history about the built environment," sources written by architects for other architects are conspicuously absent.

The first of eight thematic chapters sets the tone for the volume by recasting the aesthetic question of "what is American architecture?" to consider the constantly evolving relationship between national identity and our man-made surroundings. Each chapter contains a short analytical essay and a few sentences of explanation for each selection as the editors trace the theme from the early years of the nation to nearly the present. Chapters on the American view of the world, landscape and nature, regionalism, urbanism, suburbanization, architecture and social reform, and monuments and memory offer a wide range of perspectives on the built environment while returning frequently to defining cultural themes.

Chapter 3, "So Glorious a Landscape: Shaping Nature the American Way," for instance, highlights the unique qualities of America's natural landscape, and its subsequent abuse and homogenization. Chapter 5, "Urbanism, Real and Imagined," emphasizes the deep cultural ambiguity towards the city in a society founded on agrarian and frontier ideals. Chapter 7, "Better Buildings, Better People: Architecture and Social Reform," and chapter 8, "Monuments and Memory: Building and Protecting the American Past," are two of the strongest. In chapter 7, Conn and Page question the facile architectural determinism that has informed public policy at key moments, while still acknowledging the intimate connection between architecture and American social reform movements. Charles Dickens's 1842 description of Eastern State Penitentiary and a 1998 piece on the new federal "supermax" prison bookend this chapter, persuasively reinforcing the argument.

Perhaps of most interest to CRM Journal readers, the "Monuments and Memory" chapter takes issue with the cultural stereotype that Americans are ahistorical, since "in few places has the tension between looking backward and looking forward been greater than in the United States." Selections in this chapter begin with an 1822 description of an Indian mound in Ohio and proceed to key examples of a developing historical consciousness among Americans, including preservation of Mount Vernon, establishment of Civil War battlefield parks, Colonial Williamsburg, and reaction to the destruction of New York's Pennsylvania Station. The commercialization of history is an important subtheme of the late-20th-century pieces on topics such as the retro baseball stadium trend.

Building the Nation's interdisciplinary sources make this volume particularly useful for integrating cultural, social, and architectural history in academic settings. Conn and Page's thematic discussions offer concise primers on the major cultural and social forces shaping American architecture,

cities, and landscapes. While more expert readers may find that the sometimes heavily excerpted pieces diminish *Building the Nation*'s effectiveness as a tool for in-depth study, all readers will discover expected and unexpected source material on the built environment helpfully placed in context.

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Dell Upton, Architecture in the United States
 (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, Volume 9

Edited by Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003; 312 pp., illustrations, notes, index; paper \$30.00.

The latest anthology of papers presented at the 1998 (Annapolis, Maryland) and 1999 (Columbia, Georgia) annual meetings of the Vernacular Architecture Forum continues the tradition of earlier volumes by pushing the boundaries of traditional architectural history. Significant attention is paid to common buildings and landscapes, building and landscape typologies, and construction techniques in essays written by scholars from diverse fields including historic preservation, art and architectural history, history, urban planning, and historical archeology. Following another trend for the series and the field in general, this volume contains essays on uncommon spaces such as the Taconic State Parkway in New York and the Cherry Hill Mall in New Jersey.

For those of us who identify with the field of vernacular architecture studies, such inclusions are no great surprise. The current editors echo sentiments of their predecessors (and much of the forum membership) by insisting that the field is defined less by subject matter than by "method," which they characterize as investigations "fixed on the social function of building"—the production and use of buildings as part of social contexts. Most essays fit these broad parameters, but the mix of topics and approaches is so broad that understanding the volume as the product of a unified field proves quite challenging. Although the diversity of essays might suggest a field in the process of definition, it seems problematic to do so, given that the forum has been established for a quarter of a century. Instead, it reflects a lingering uncertainty about what precisely those who study vernacular architecture do. The field is still struggling to define itself, its relation to its parent disciplines, and perhaps even its contemporary relevance.

While this volume provides enriching scholarly essays, it is disappointing that the editors' introduction offers little in the way of an explanation of where it fits among evolving concepts of vernacular architecture. Several previous editors of Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture used their introductions to reflect on changes in historiography and method. Essays by Camille Wells (PVA 2, 1986) and Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (PVA 4, 1991) have become standard fare for undergraduate survey courses that teach "vernacular" to budding preservationists.2 Given that the subject matter of vernacular architecture studies has expanded dramatically in the last 15 years, according to the editors, beyond its "core fascination with 'common' buildings," it seems problematic to celebrate diversity without considering the implications of the field's expanding boundaries for forum members as well as for the larger Perspectives' audience, which includes preservationists making decisions vital to the survival of vernacular resources.

These criticisms do not detract from the individual essays, most of which are fascinating, well-written examples of historical scholarship that will be interesting and potentially useful to preservation

professionals. Essays on lesser-known building types, such as Shannon Bell's essay on drive-in theaters in the Middle Atlantic states, Mark Reinberger's study of sharecropper houses in the Georgia Piedmont, and Robert W. Blythe's study of Alabama mill villages, may help preservationists in evaluating these types of resources in preservation planning or perhaps in developing typologies for similar structures and landscapes in other regions. Essays by Willie Graham on the Chesapeake region's pre-industrial framing technologies and by Jason D. Moser, Al Luckenbach, Sherri M. Marsh, and Donna Ware on archeological evidence of 17th-century domestic building practices in Providence, Maryland, contain important data that will be useful to fieldworkers in the Mid-Atlantic region.

Other essays offer fascinating interpretations of the built environment that go beyond explaining particular buildings or landscapes and may serve as models for interpreting various resources—vernacular or otherwise. Camille Wells's examination of the relatively restrained classical ornament of Menokin, a Virginia plantation house constructed by John Tayloe II, expands upon work by Dell Upton and others in explaining how style reflected as well as enacted power hierarchies among the colonial elite. Her findings offer us richer ways of interpreting extraordinary resources, as well as the not-so-extraordinary ones, beyond the identification of the stylistic features of their facades.

Jennifer Nardone's essay focuses on the coded exteriors of juke joints in the Mississippi Delta—inexpensive places to eat, drink, and dance to the music of juke boxes during the 1930s and 1940s—and considers how different audiences viewed these buildings (which were often existing structures converted into use as juke joints) in a land-scape marked by racial segregation. Nardone's insights ask us to look beyond the traditional architectural "codes" gleaned from style books to understand the use and significance of these buildings. She reminds us that interpreting buildings

requires looking at how they functioned in a social context—something all of the essays stress but which is highlighted in this fascinating case study.

Carl Lounsbury's essay on Anglican Church design in the Chesapeake region offers a field-based examination of a building type, examining the tensions between a "pure" design style and its regional derivatives. Lounsbury's approach is rooted in the core values of the forum members, which emphasize field research in buildings and archives. At the same time, his essay allows us to understand a range of alternatives within a type, which typological studies, especially style guides, often neglect in stressing the "norm."

Worth noting in this volume are the number of studies devoted to landscapes. Two essays address the history of parkways: Kathleen LaFrank discusses the Taconic State Parkway and Timothy Davis looks at the parkway movement. Two others, Blythe's and Reinberger's essays mentioned earlier, look at the complicated labor landscapes of the South. Other authors explore the early-20thcentury San Francisco commercial streetscape, the factory tour landscape, and Civil War encampments. Other essays in the volume look at buildings as part of landscape ensembles rather than as isolated entities, reflecting a trend in vernacular architecture scholarship since the mid-1980s.

It seems ironic that the latest volume of *Perspectives* in Vernacular Architecture deals with "high style" architecture and landscapes at the same time that preservationists are trying to come to grips with the importance of preserving truly ordinary kinds of buildings. Perhaps vernacular architecture studies and historic preservation are struggling to address just what precisely "vernacular" is and the relevance of studying or saving vernacular resources. This volume does not help to resolve the dilemma for historians of vernacular architecture: if anything, it points to the need for those working in the field to think more about what distinguishes them from other students of architectural history,

or from historians of material culture generally.

If such questions seem merely a matter of ivory tower intellectual debate, they become important when we remember that preservation professionals rely upon books such as this to help make decisions about what to preserve and what stories are worth telling. Taken as a whole, this volume may seem at first to offer preservationists little in terms of their dilemma; the inclusion of high-style buildings and landscapes subjected to a "vernacular architecture approach" might be seen as complicating matters by suggesting that all buildings are common—at least to someone at some point. But this, after all, is the point of the vernacular architecture movement: to insist that all buildings have stories to tell—whether "high style," vernacular, or somewhere in between.

This volume continues to push the forum's core message. In making decisions about what to preserve, preservation professionals must remember that "integrity," particularly in terms of style, is only one factor to consider; an extraordinary resource might have low integrity but have an important story behind it (jukejoints, for example). The latest volume of Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture reminds us that we need to keep our eyes open to all kinds of resources and the potentially fascinating stories they have to tell because often the "vernacular" stories are the most interesting.

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- I. For information on the Vernacular Architecture Forum, see http://www.vernaculararchitectureforum.org.
- 2. Camille Wells, "Old Claims and New Demands: Vernacular Architecture Studies Today," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 2 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 1-10; and Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, "Introduction: Toward a New Architectural History," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 4 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 1-6.

The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution and Distribution in North America

By Robert F. Ensminger. Second Edition, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003; 348 pp., diagrams, photographs, appendices, glossary, bibliography, index; paper \$28.00.



Scholars can be an intellectually persistent lot, especially when the subject before them is as visually inviting and iconographic as the Pennsylvania barn.
Fortunately for serious material culture practitioners, Robert

Ensminger, folklorist, lecturer, and cultural geographer of considerable credentials, has elevated the weekend practices of "barn crawls" and "barnstorming" to a new level of study and appreciation. Reading the second edition of *The Pennsylvania Barn* is like sitting at the kitchen table with an old friend.

Ensminger's meticulous 1992 study of the Pennsylvania barn has been extensively revisted and reaffirmed. Additional barns have been studied, experts consulted, and classifications refined. As a result, one-third of the original text has been updated. A central conclusion of the first edition continues to hold up, namely that Pennsylvania barns "remain surprisingly constant over considerable distances." True of almost any serious investigation, the book answers several questions while raising others. 1790 tax records, for example, reveal that most structures in Pennsylvania were built of log, and in those counties with the highest percentage of stone buildings, stonemasons tended to be primarily of English and Scots-Irish ancestry rather than German as is widely assumed.

Among the volume's more fundamental conclusions is how cultural assimilation and simple labor-

saving techniques in the Pennsylvania hearth, particularly during the late 18th century, influenced subsequent barn structure and form. Such social and material diffusion is evident through the use of lighter English rafter systems, stone closed-fore-bays, and Anglo-influenced barnyard enclosures. Through diagnostic elements, Ensminger traces barn evolution from the continental *stehender Stuhl* to the canted-queen-post triangular truss, a simple yet profoundly successful roof frame that took hold during the 19th century and spread westward. Out of this Anglo-German cross-fertilization also emerged several notable American innovations, as Greg Huber and other barn trailblazers have shown with the swing beam.

Ensminger is at his authoritative best taking readers through the timbered maze of structural nomenclature, diagnostic features, and the evolution of barn-framing technology. The author's explanation for the location of granary outsheds along the ramp or back side of the barn as a result of proximity to new power sources is both simple and profound in its logic. Physical appearances can be deceiving, so the experienced barn surveyor is advised to understand dairy laws and look beneath the strawshed or other later accretions that frequently disguise the original barn morphology. What may be obscured from outside view is a forebay or an enclosed-forebay variant, two distinct barn forms sharing Pennsylvania origins.

In broadening his 1992 conclusions, Ensminger reaffirms the claim that Lancaster County can be credited with the introduction of the forebay barn, and posits the Pennsylvania barn is significantly wider in its distribution than previously acknowledged, with Ohio having the greatest density outside the core and domain. One seemingly obvious methodological approach for redefining the distribution in western Pennsylvania was based on county atlases. Historic atlases and ongoing field surveys have shown an enclosed forebay variation of the standard Pennsylvania barn originating in western Pennsylvania. One persistent problem lim-

iting the consistent professional documentation of historic resources is the lack of a standardized building and framing terminology, a point Ensminger addresses diligently. The attention to detail and assiduous explanation of structural terminology in *Pennsylvania Barn* can help to rectify this pitfall and raise the professional standing of material culture studies.

Such an ambitious if occasionally heavily detailed morphological analysis allows readers little opportunity for observing substantive shortcomings. Historians may have welcomed better use of population and agricultural censuses to link specific agricultural production and practices to the Pennsylvania barn and its remarkable distribution as far as the Pacific Northwest. The distinctive and aesthetically beautiful hand-crafted features of the Pennsylvania barn leave this reviewer wanting to learn more about local barn builders and their role in creating what many farmers probably perceived as utilitarian form. Was it an agricultural system that dictated the selection of certain barn types, was it the traditional skills and cultural know-how of the individual builders, or did the farmers themselves ultimately influence the final choice of barn types? Did soil types and choice of livestock have any influence?

Pennsylvania Barn's final chapter is both sobering and encouraging in acknowledging that "the rate of barn loss will accelerate" and by recognizing the growing interest in barns. Ensminger's final plea calls for establishing a central barn archive. The National Barn Alliance has taken a step in this direction by serving as an information network for State Historic Preservation Offices and state extension programs. Disseminating such information and teaching our nation's future farmers, land stewards, land use planners, and barn contractors about the intrinsic value of historic barns can only help stem their mortality rate.

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Patterns from the Golden Age of Rustic Design: Park and Recreation Structures from the 1930s

By Albert H. Good. Reprint, Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 2003; 632 pp., illustrations, photographs; paper \$29.95.



This classic work, primarily illustrating park structures built in the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps, has been reprinted in a handsome paperback edition as *Patterns from the Golden Age of Rustic*

Design: Park and Recreation Structures from the 1930s. Originally a single book published in 1935 as Park Structures and Facilities, it proved so popular that it was expanded and reissued in 1938 by the National Park Service as a three-volume work, Park and Recreation Structures—hence the subtitle of this edition. Part I covers Administration and Basic Service Facilities, Part II details Recreational and Cultural Facilities, and Part III presents Overnight and Organized Camp Facilities. (The book also was reprinted by Princeton Architectural Press in 1999 in a hardcover format.)

The extensive, humorous text was written by architect Albert H. Good, a consultant to the National Park Service. The illustrations—black and white photographs and renderings, showing well over a thousand structures from more than 300 parks were selected by a Works Progress Administrationfunded committee of leading architects and landscape architects, including Good, engaged in directing work in the parks. Over two-thirds of the structures are from state parks, reflecting the focus of most of the Civilian Conservation Corps's work. Thirty-six national parks, monuments, and historic sites are represented, with the rest of the illustrations depicting structures in municipal parks and other sites that were judged similar in style and purpose. Among the states with the greatest

number of features illustrated are Arkansas, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Texas—states with well-developed park systems that exhibited a consistently high level of design. The West and upper Midwest are the most well-represented areas of the country.

Good analyzed thousands of photographs, deriving a set of standards and principles to guide and inspire future designers of park structures, such as designing in harmony with the site and relying, where possible, on native materials and traditional building techniques. He writes, "It is believed that by making the subjects herein widely available for comparative study, the influence engendered by each will merge into a forceful composite to the advancement of park technique." Good also supplied the clear and elegant renderings of floorplans, elevations, and site plans.

The buildings run the gamut of structures and features needed to outfit parks: signs, drinking fountains, and privies; steps, culverts and bridges; picnic tables and fireplaces; refuse receptacles and incinerators; bathhouses and boathouses; furnishings, markers, museums, tent and trailer campsites; and lodges, washhouses, and camp structures for recreation, dining, and sleeping. Most designers are not identified; this was an editorial decision made for consistency because not all names were known.

The selected structures display not only a wide range of building types, but a variety of stylistic influences as well, from the ubiquitous log cabins of the East and Midwest to the missions and pueblos of the Far West. Referring to past builders, Good states, "In fitting tribute we seek to grace our park structures by adaptation of their traditions and practices as we come to understand them." All, however, are consistently designed in the style that came to be known as "rustic" or, more informally, as "parkitecture." The majority employ wood and stone, usually in combination, although adobe appears in the Southwest. Innumerable cabins,

shelters, and administration buildings employ many different types of log construction: round timbers, squared timbers, and different kinds of notching. (Good is careful to note such matters as the importance of removing bark from logs, to prevent deterioration.) The stone buildings and the stone foundations of log structures are built of irregular, rough-faced stones, often surprisingly massive to convey strength and tie a building more emphatically to its site. Good commends masonry designs that reflect strength appropriate to the size and purpose of the structure, or designs that recall the natural layering of local stone, while criticizing work that was laid too randomly or otherwise appears weak.

The final section is notable for documenting buildings in recreational development areas, the ambitious New Deal attempt to reclaim degraded agricultural lands and establish, in their place, rural retreats to serve underprivileged children and families (among others) from nearby metropolitan areas. Good discusses such matters as preferred camp layouts, the proper placement of cabins in relation to service and administration buildings, and issues underlying the design of swimming and other recreational facilities. Most of these areas soon became state parks.

Throughout the book, it is clear that the designs derive from the tenets of the Arts and Crafts movement. This is evident in the massive scale of even small structures; the broken, irregular surfaces of stone walls; the "waney" boards and rough-hewn logs—all of which evoke a romantic image of tamed wilderness. Plans are supplied for many of the buildings illustrated, and these exhibit a clarity and logic in the arrangement of spaces and functions.

Also deriving from the Arts and Crafts movement is the presumption of moral fitness underlying the presentation and text. Good and his colleagues clearly believed such structures represented the correct way to design for so-called "natural" parks

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in the United States. This exhaustive survey not only celebrates the achievements of the designers employed in such work, but inculcates the inevitability of such stylistic choices and the social benefits derived from them.

Kay Fanning
National Park Service

Fletcher Steele, Landscape Architect: An Account of the Gardenmaker's Life, 1885-1971

By Robin Karson. Second Edition, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003; 368 pp., illustrations, bibliography, notes; paper \$34.95.

Robin Karson, in this revised edition, has truly captured the life and aspirations of Fletcher Steele. Steele's artistry in estate gardenmaking (and a few public spaces), from the 1920s into the 1960s, influenced modern landscape architecture. Karson traces the phases of his career from the earliest influences in his life to the last designs he completed, spanning nearly a century. With each phase, Karson provides ample descriptions through 50 of the most noteworthy garden designs utilizing Steele's own photo library, his original plans and sketches, correspondence, and articles in which he expressed his design theories. The design process is clearly articulated from inception through completion, combining his artistic intent, his patron's desires, and the site constraints to ensure that the patron and designer are satisfied with the outcome. This book is a rare glimpse inside the life of one of the great early American landscape architects who bridges the gap between Beaux-Arts and modern landscape design.

Before this first edition was published in 1989, Steele was largely forgotten. Karson's book renewed interest in his work and the notable designs that he created. His most well-known project, Naumkeag, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, was the cornerstone of his career. For Naumkeag, Karson provides an insightful presentation of the 30-year design development of Mabel Choate's property and Steele's relationship with his "great design partner, patron, and friend." Starting in 1926 with the design of the Afternoon Garden and ending in 1955 with the completion of the Moon Gate in the Chinese Garden, the most recognizable feature of the garden became the Blue Steps. In 1938 Choate announced that she was tired of risking her neck on her daily treks to the cutting garden. Choate stated: "I...told Mr. Steele he must make me some steps that would be both convenient and easy.... Little did I realize what I was in for." Steele created four sections as he describes it, "each one having a couple of steps and turns, two ramps...and a graduated flight of half a dozen steps to a platform. The latter go up over an arched opening in which is a dripping fountain and pool." White iron railings accentuated the sweeping curves of the steps and archway descending down the slope. Surrounding the staircase, Steele planted a grove of white bark birch trees. The final idea was to paint the steps and archway openings a bright blue. Hailed as the signature work of Steele's career, the steps are featured on the cover of the book.

Choate's and Steele's concern over Naumkeag's future preservation resulted in Choate's bequest of the property to the Massachusetts conservation organization, Trustees of Reservations. Steele certainly influenced this decision since he acted as an advisor and committee member for the organization for a number of years. The foresight of Choate and Steele some 50 years ago left Steele's most notable design preserved for future generations.

Karson's very readable book captures the voice of Steele and the patrons that accepted him as family. As a charismatic writer and speaker, he was sought out by the foremost landscape architecture programs to provide his always insightful, though not always popular, viewpoints. His association

with the Garden Club of America was his most lucrative, leading to a number of designs for club members.

Through his speaking engagements and writings, he also influenced a new generation of landscape architects, including Daniel Kiley and Garrett Eckbo, who became leading modernists after World War II. Steele was ahead of his time and presented his ideas on modern garden design in several articles starting in 1929 for *House Beautiful* and in 1930 and 1932 for *Landscape Architecture*. In his 1932 essay titled "Landscape Design of the Future" he wrote—

In my opinion, the architect is primarily interested in the objects which he is designing: the landscape architect with the relation of things and the compositions of the spaces between them... I believe that successful space composition will be the next serious preoccupation of landscape architects. The difficulties of composing space are greater than the mere design of objects in and around its enclosed volumes, especially in our art which rarely offers us more definite roof than sky....

Steele was known as a perfectionist, dominating, and very unpredictable, yet he was loved by "rich little old ladies." For the most part, he lived as he preached in his quest for beauty through the artistic arrangements of the gardens he designed.

Karson presents an engaging biography, gracefully written and supported by numerous photographs, plans, and sketches. Although beyond the scope of this book, Karson nonetheless expresses some concern about the current condition of Steele's designs. She laments the destruction of two of his most treasured designs, where wrecking crews wiped away everything that took years to create, removing them in a matter of days. This leaves the reader with questions about the fate of Steel's other 700 landscape designs. Karson's extraordinary book serves to encourage the preservation of Steele's other significant landscape designs. All in

all, Fletcher Steele valued quality and would be pleased with Karson's presentation of his work.

Maureen DeLay Joseph National Park Service

African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary, 1865-1945

Edited by Dreck Spurlock Wilson. New York: Routledge, 2004; 505 pp., photographs, illustrations, tables, bibliography, appendix, index; cloth \$95.00.

The story of the professional architect in America follows a carefully contrived narrative. Amid a sea of local building traditions, dilettantes such as Thomas Jefferson spearheaded dramatic aesthetic innovations based on European classicism. Immigrant architects such as the English-born Benjamin Henry Latrobe and American followers and students like Robert Mills, the first native-born trained architect, sought to distinguish themselves from dilettantes and protect themselves from builders. In 1857, the American Institute of Architects was founded; in 1865, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology established regular programs of study based on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts model; and beginning in 1897, state licensing required meeting standards of education and practice. By contrast, the story of early African American architecture has no architects. We know much about shotgun houses and Creole cottages but in the traditional canon of American architecture, the term African American professional architect has been an oxymoron.

Traditional storylines celebrate architecture with a capital "A" as an increasingly rarified discipline led by privileged stars and focused on aesthetic monuments. We simply forget the builders and contractors who were actually responsible for most buildings, and who were called architects. We forget the economy, technology, and politics. We forget the struggle for recognition in a highly competitive setting and the many designers who did not make the grade. We forget women and minorities. We forget ordinary buildings. Indeed, recent scholarly concerns about the gaps and limitations of such a narrative have literally reshaped the study of architectural history. African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary, 1865-1945, edited by Dreck Spurlock Wilson, is a major force to continue that reshaping, giving much needed presence to a large but essentially invisible group of designers, to innumerable but largely unknown buildings across the land, and to an awesome force of educational initiative, community spirit, and pride.

The first step in appreciating the magnitude of African American contributions to our built heritage is simply to look at all the schools, churches, commercial buildings, houses, and neighborhoods across the American landscape, and discover that many more of them were designed by African American architects than one might have thought. The second step, and the one that this dictionary is so good at emphasizing, is to realize that with each building come stories of its time and place and its architect's personal dedication. Every structure, its scale, detail, and placement, speak of our society's economy, its acceptance or renunciation of discrimination, its recognition of needs both public and private. African American Architects is the most comprehensive dictionary of these architects to date with over 160 detailed and well-documented entries, a thorough bibliography, and an appendix of all buildings listed by place and cross-referenced by architect and date. The entries reveal the African American men and women who shaped their lives and found official recognition by insisting on getting an education, finding employment, and using their skills on par with the best design professionals in the United States.

The architectural press's discrimination against and refusal to write about African Americans is one of

the main prompts for this volume. Julian Abele, the first architect presented in the volume, designed 48 buildings for Duke University in the 1920s and 1930s, but dared not visit the campus because of Jim Crow practices. Robert Buffin received a job to work at Pearl Harbor in 1929 only to arrive and have his employer say "I asked for a draftsman, not a colored man." Leon Quincy Jackson, a black Seminole in 1950s Oklahoma was denied the right to take the state licensing exam. He convinced the governor to intercede, but still had to use a segregated hotel, enter through the back door, ride the freight elevator, and take the test in an unoccupied room. Indeed, being an African American architect has come with frightening and dismal challenges.

The most common and persistent manifestations of racism were entrenched poverty, ignorance, and the resulting diminished opportunity to fulfill one's talents. Finding steady employment was rare, much less being able to devote oneself to architecture. John Merrick's story exemplifies the challenges. Born a slave to his master's son in 1859, Merrick was freed after the Civil War and worked his way from hod carrier to brick mason to boot black to barber. Merrick eventually opened a string of barbershops, gained enough money to go into real estate, and then found the opportunity to design buildings. Even when doing this, he still acted as his own drayman, foreman, and carpenter. Many blacks just settled for construction or decoration work while whites designed the buildings. Others doubled as waiters, bellmen, or valets through times of "underemployment."

Although uniform in their presentation—illustrations consist of small grey headshots and usually one grainy shot of a building—the stories in the dictionary are captivating. This is not a coffee-table book about beautiful design, but rather a book about architecture and the social warriors who fought their way to usefulness and recognition. While the book is peppered with American Institute of Architects fellows and at least one presidential award, the real reward for the majority in

the book seemed to be their first full-time job and the opportunity for service as architect, teacher, and other community leadership roles.

Given the social climate of the United States, the ultimate success of African American architects has been a mixed affair. Some were standouts. Paul Revere Williams, "architect to the stars," was probably the most prolific black architect with some 3,000 buildings, including one of the great icons of the 1960s, the spaceship-like Theme Building at Los Angeles International Airport. But success in many cases was far more muted. Georgia Louise Harris Brown, thought to be only the second African American woman to be licensed as an architect in the United States, landed a job with an exclusive Chicago engineering firm and had her most notable professional success preparing specifications for Mies van der Rohe's Lake Shore Drive and Promontory apartment buildings. So capable and yet so limited, Brown ultimately decided to learn Portuguese and moved to Brazil for the rest of her career to escape the color line.

While the traditional academic achievement and professional success of whites is the usual model, this book celebrates a different trajectory to success and a different finished product. Black high schools like Armstrong Technical in Washington, DC, and Sumner in St. Louis—the first black high school west of the Mississippi—served as the bedrock of opportunity for many. These schools fed eager students into black colleges such as Claffin College of Agriculture and Mechanics Institute for Colored Students (now Claflin University in Orangeburg, South Carolina), which in 1890 offered the first architectural drawing classes for African Americans. Howard University and Tuskegee Institute also were common choices as were early integrated institutions such as Cornell University and the University of Illinois.

For African American graduates, organizations such as the National Technical Association and the Colored Men's Business League helped confront

racial discrimination. Indeed, black institutions like the Knights of Pythias, Masonic lodges, and churches were often valuable clients. Mentoring also provided much needed support in an intimidating professional world. L.O. Bankhead, who cut hair to pay his way at Voorhees College in Denmark, South Carolina, designed houses for Hollywood stars like Bonanza's Loren Green, and mentored as many as 40 young designers in his Los Angeles office.

As defeating as the environment was, casting a pessimistic shadow over African American architectural endeavor would be false. The challenges faced by African American professionals provided benchmarks for the successes achieved. Howard University served as a virtual think tank of designers with nearly a dozen architects teaching and designing campus buildings. A couple of the greatest projects mentioned in the dictionary were for model large-scale low-income housing. Lewis Mumford described the 1930s Public Works Administration-sponsored Langston Terrace public housing in Washington, DC, as looking "better than the best modern work in Hamburg or Vienna." That project's success helped lead to the passage of the first United States Housing Act of 1937. The Harlem River Houses of the same era provided the first federally funded housing in New York, comprising 574 units with extensive landscaping, a nursery school, children's indoor recreation, a health clinic, and social rooms for adults.

The dictionary's greatest benefit derives from its focus on an important, elusive, and often overlooked topic. This topic deserves further inquiry. Apparently some 80 architects were not included for lack of information. Black neighborhoods merit investigation as settings for professional fulfillment. The dynamics of African American places of business and entertainment like U Street, the "Great Black Way" in Washington, DC, and Deep Deuce in Oklahoma City, are far from clear. More information on black organizations would be valuable. The inception and life of black communities like

Fairmount Heights in Maryland, Eastgate in Columbus, Ohio, and American Beach in Florida, deserve attention. Also needed is more information on the interaction of black and white professional cultures.

In the introduction, the editor of this volume asks whether there is an African American architecture. After reading nearly 200 stories about 1,000 designs, this clearly is a more complicated question than one might think. Only one African link is made in the entire book. There are no entries describing African traditions in Creole or shotgun houses. Instead, the volume seems to document exclusively the suppression of distinctive African American traits in favor of national design norms. Trying to fit in, showing their skill with prevailing aesthetic trends, and being economically strong and respected in their communities, these designers largely conformed to design standards, but not to stereotypes of what it meant to be African American. What we see is not African American architecture as a distinct style or type, but rather architecture by dynamic and creative blacks in the United States. While African American architecture it is, it is not an architecture for African Americans to claim alone but for society as a whole.

E. G. Daves Rossell Savannah College of Art and Design

I. Most notably, the last 30 years have seen a dramatic expansion of works on folk and popular traditions and on social aspects of design. See the Vernacular Architecture Forum's bibliography for a sense of the range: http://departments.mwc.edu/hipr/www/vafbib.htm. For the best recent overview of architecture and professionalism, see Dell Upton, Architecture in the United States (New York and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998).

In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863

By Leslie M. Harris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003; xii + 380 pp., illustrations, maps; cloth \$42.50; paper \$25.00.



Leslie Harris's In the Shadow of Slavery offers a powerful story of New York City's African Americans from the colonial period through the Civil War. The strength of the book lies in its capacity to synthesize a tremendous amount of scholarship on

antislavery and black activism while simultaneously offering novel interpretations.

The book is built on an ambitious narrative with broad implications for understanding antebellum black activism. The trajectory of the narrative is not unfamiliar to specialists in the field. Drawing on a tradition of work stressing self-guidance and agency, Harris describes how African-descended people became African Americans in the colonial period, developing communities that established collective strategies for coping with and resisting oppression. The ideology of the Revolutionary War era loosened the fetters of enslavement, as paternalistic whites sought to enhance liberty's scope while preserving the moral well-being of the fragile republic. White reformers' efforts to expatriate American blacks to the African colony of Liberia illustrated the anxieties about emancipation. The limited benevolence of the early republic thus transmogrified into the hardened racial lines of the antebellum period.

In the 1830s, popular response to black activism and white radical abolitionism coalesced around fears of "amalgamation," spurring the riots of 1834 and fostering new caution among antislavery activists black and white. The new generation of

black activists that emerged in the 1840s and 1850s was more dedicated to independent action and more willing to discuss potentially divisive questions of class culture within the movement. While their solutions failed to mobilize the full spectrum of black classes, their concerns were more than justified by the reemergence of white fears of interracial sexuality embodied in the Draft Riots of 1863.

For interpreters of historic sites, Harris's study suggests important nuances in presenting a narrative of black activism as well as the broader context of abolitionism. Far more than a case study, it is the story of the black antislavery movement writ large. Harris's key players conflict with black Philadelphians, shake off the paternalism of Boston abolitionists, establish institutions throughout the Mid-Atlantic and New England, and nurture ties to the plantation South and to Africa and other parts of the diaspora. The convention movement spearheaded by black New Yorkers in the 1840s was a national movement, and it responded to national events, like the Supreme Court's 1857 decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

In the Shadow of Slavery also offers highly original research and analysis. Few have done the job as well as Harris in illuminating the ambivalent, qualified "freedom" of black northerners in the early republic, or of the role of sexual fears in further qualifying that freedom in the antebellum years. Her discussion of the manual labor movement and black abolitionism constitutes some of the strongest work we have on northern blacks and questions of labor. Her study of the Colored Orphan's Asylum deftly illuminates class tensions inherent in white reformers' efforts on behalf of African Americans.

Class tensions constitute the strongest theme of the book, as Harris seeks the fullest explication yet of the role of class formation in antebellum black activism. Similar to her colleagues Shane White and Graham Hodges, Harris undertakes the formidable task of giving voice to nonelite African

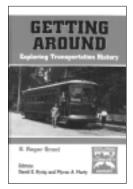
Americans, which inevitably yields stories of conflict with bourgeois black leaders. Figures like Samuel Cornish embraced middle-class values of self-help and moral elevation in an effort to demonstrate that African Americans deserved their precarious freedom, but often at the expense of working-class blacks whom these leaders claimed to represent. Working-class African Americans, such as Peter Paul Simons, occasionally challenged the bourgeois premises of elite black protest, only to find themselves silenced, mocked, or ignored.

Harris tends to reify class, often posing "middle class" not as the contingent product of social and ideological contestation, but as a given and thus largely the same for whites and blacks. As Harris herself notes, scanty means impelled important figures among the black elite to undertake labor that prevented them from embodying the dominant middle-class ideal. For black leaders, what did bourgeois actually mean? While Harris recognizes that black activists lacked the luxury of sundering themselves from the black non-elite, she might have more fully grasped the opportunities such paradoxes offer for interrogating divergent meanings of class among black and white activists. Was it possible for class culture to operate among blacks in the same way that it operated among whites? At the least, Harris's work suggests a tantalizing hidden history of class tension within the black community that invites further investigation.

It is no surprise that *In the Shadow of Slavery* won the American Historical Association's 2003 Wesley Logan Prize, and an honorable mention for the 2003 Frederick Douglass Book Prize from the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition. Few have done as much as Harris to challenge historians to weave the African American experience into a retelling of the national narrative. The book is a stunning achievement—an insightful and wide-ranging work that may long stand as definitive.

Patrick Rael Bowdoin College Getting Around: Exploring Transportation History

By H. Roger Grant. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishers, 2003; 190 pp., illustrations, appendices, index; cloth \$29.50; paper \$24.50.



A growing number of people seem to realize that they are products of their past, and they want to connect with that past, individually or as part of a larger community. When historical questions focus on local or regional issues, both amateur and profes-

sional historians sometimes find themselves at a loss about where to look for information about a field new to them. Big national and international topics may be covered by considerable literature and resources such as the National Archives, Library of Congress, and the various state archives are well known, but most of us live in a smaller realm. The history of our communities and their everyday life is unique, yet connected to a wider world. But where does one begin to look for information about local life? What is really important? How can useful data be assembled and analyzed?

With its Exploring Community History series, Krieger Publishing Company has provided informative guides to help historians find answers to these and other questions about community history. H. Roger Grant's *Getting Around: Exploring Transportation History* is the fourth book in this series and, as the title indicates, Grant opens windows into the study of local and regional transportation history. Humans have always been mobile creatures, and the topic is central to understanding how any community forms, grows, sometimes fails, and interacts with other communities. As a long-time scholar of transportation history, Grant's wide knowledge of available resources makes him the ideal author for this book.

This is not a history book, nor is it a book about writing history. Rather, it is a book about sources for researching a very complex industry from several points of view. The depth and breadth of Grant's knowledge of the field becomes increasingly evident the more one reads, and he has done a good job of organizing an immense amount of material into a concise, useable form.

The book is organized by transportation modes, and they appear in roughly chronological order. Grant devotes a chapter each to natural waterways, roads, canals, railroads, interurbans, urban transit, and aviation. Written in a readable narrative style, each chapter opens with a brief overview of a particular mode, then narrows to a local focus and concentrates on how individuals interacted with the mode and suggests ways that transportation influenced their lives. He notes the kinds of structures (or their remains) and other artifacts that may still exist, where to look for them, and how to recognize evidence of a past life in the transportation industry, even though a structure may have been in some other, unrelated use for years.

Grant also discusses the types of public and private records that each operation likely generated and offers sage advice on where these might be found. Within each chapter, information is grouped into subheadings, a big help for consulting the book on a specific topic. The chapter on railroads is typical, with subheadings for depots, companies, employees, rolling stock, artifacts (lanterns, keys, etc.), accidents (records and images), and additional pointers (maps, timetables, rule books, etc.). The chapter on roads deals not only with everything from trails to interstates, but also discusses sources for bus- and truck-line data and information often available from related industries, such as tire and oil companies.

Grant's approach is quite thorough. He lists major secondary works where they exist, and he notes a number of specific museums and archives. Where the resources are not well defined, Grant provides an overview of what one might look for, such as retired employees' associations, fire insurance maps, property records, and even picture postcards. The illustrations, while often small because of the book's 6-by-9-inch format, give the reader, especially one new to the field, a good sense of the relevant artifacts. While Grant cautions that few, if any, records or artifacts may survive from an endeavor that failed, even an experienced professional historian will come away from this little book with a rejuvenated sense of what is out there, remaining to be explored. As an additional encouragement, Grant ends the book with a brief chapter outlining a variety of ways that amateur historians might utilize and disseminate the information that they gather.

This book should enjoy a wide audience. It certainly will not create a competent historian in one easy lesson, but that is not its intent. Grant tries to steer the serious researcher towards good source material about transportation, particularly sources that might be productive yet easy to overlook. Since communities grew around their transportation networks, anyone starting an exploration into community history will find it to be a valuable companion.

J. Lawrence Lee National Park Service

Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting Women's History for Historic Sites

Essays by Sara Evans, Leslie N. Sharp, Jill Cowley, and Shaun Eyring. Second Edition, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2003; 56 pp., notes, bibliography; free of charge. Available online at www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/index.htm.

Anne M. Derousie, historian at Women's Rights

National Historical Park, and Susan Ferentinos, public history coordinator for the Organization of American Historians, produced this booklet under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the organization. The booklet comprises Derousie's introduction and three short essays: Sara M. Evans's review of "Women's History Scholarship," Jill Cowley and Shaun Eyring's overview of "Women's History and Cultural Landscapes," and Leslie N. Sharp's comments on "Women's History and the Built Environment."



The publication is the first in a series that is "designed to assist historic site managers, historians and interpreters in the ongoing process of reviewing and evaluating interpretive programs and media and adjusting them in light of recent scholarship." Because

the managers, historians, and interpreters likely will have various backgrounds, the National Park Service introduces them to some of the key questions that command the attention of historians of women. A comment by Sharpe that "one key to improving the documentation of historic properties in terms of women's history is to ask better questions" characterizes the goal of the publication. Each of the authors does an excellent job of synthesizing a wide variety of materials into concise articles. Evans, Cowley, and Eyring link their comments to specific sites around the country, while Sharp relies on examples from Georgia that seem more linked to National Register of Historic Places listings than to national parks.

The book concludes with a 20-page bibliography, the longest section in the booklet, which is divided among reference works on women's history, resources on women and the built environment, resources on women and cultural landscapes, general resources on women's history, and biogra-

phies. All of the citations are books, so perhaps the booklet's coordinators made a conscious decision to omit some of the excellent women's history websites. Almost every bibliographic citation in the first four sections includes a brief annotation, but why these are not available for every citation is not clear. Nor is it clear why none of the books in the biographies section has annotations. Most readers will recognize Clara Barton and Elizabeth Cady Stanton immediately, but Martha Ballard and Sarah Winnemucca, the subjects of other books in this section, are probably less well-known. Some references to local history resources (city directories, maps, diaries, census records, vital statistics, etc.) that historians and interpreters might use to research their sites would have made the bibliography more useful.

Space must have been a major constraint, though, since there are no illustrations beyond the cover photograph to help the reader understand the authors' perspectives. This is a particularly glaring omission, at least to this reviewer, in the article on cultural landscapes where the authors discuss sites like the Lockhart Ranch at Bighorn Canyon National Recreation Area and the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in South Dakota, which few readers outside the National Park Service are likely to know.

Exploring a Common Past is a useful aid to historic site staff who must address a range of topics in their daily work. Although parts are inconsistent, overall the publication will help integrate the history of women into the narrative of American history.

Barbara Howe
West Virginia University

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest

Edited by Hal K. Rothman. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003; 250 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes; cloth \$34.95.



In the introduction to this book, editor Hal Rothman suggests that the Southwest provided the model upon which Americans discovered tourism. While far from accurate, that observation points faithfully to the importance of the southwestern United States

in demonstrating the complex and often perplexing human consequences of modern tourism.

The book's interdisciplinary focus also provides testimony to the degree to which issues related to tourism and travel have begun to catch the attention of a variety of disciplines and areas of professional practice.

One of the unique features of southwestern tourism lies in the tricultural and highly racialized identities associated with the American Southwest. In her contribution, Sylvia Rodriguez describes how tourism has contributed to and reflects the construction in New Mexico of an Indian-Mexican-Anglo identity that serves to misrepresent the true complexity of ethnic differences in the region and is continually renegotiated through shifts in the ethnic power base of localities. Her insightful discussion of changes in regional tourism strategies due to increased Hispanic political influence and the development of casino gaming by several Indian pueblos is worthy of careful reading. Chris Wilson's article on the historical development of the touristic and monumental representation of New Mexico's three major "cultures" provides additional documentation.

Several of the contributions focus on the importance of material culture in structuring southwestern tourism. In her discussion of the important role played by "authentic" Indian-crafted souvenirs, Leah Dilworth describes how such objects can serve to appropriate and commodify cultural identities. In her critique of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990, Dilworth suggests that it actually serves to alienate rather than protect culturally appropriate modes of Indian production and identity. In "Anglo Artists and the Creation of Pueblo Worlds," Rina Swentzell offers a personal account of growing up Indian in a pueblo near the tourist mecca of Taos, contrasting her own feelings of Indian identity with representations of Indian culture produced by popular Anglo artists. In another article, Erika Marie Bsumek turns her attention to that form of "virtual tourism" represented by the collection from afar of ethnographic arts and crafts. The popularity of such elite collecting, Bsumek argues, has served to deprive some people of large parts of their material heritage, particularly when it has focused on rare, personal, and ceremonial objects, rather than on goods produced for the tourist market.

Articles by Phoebe Kropp and Marguerite Shaffer address issues related to the touristic making of southwestern places. Kropp's contribution describes the early-20th-century construction of the El Camino Real highway along the California coast, with emphasis on the advent of the automobile as a touring vehicle and the highly romanticized and racialized revival, if not reinvention, of California's early Spanish missions. Shaffer's particularly insightful article is based modestly enough on pre-World War II travel scrapbooks of a secretary from New York. Worth noting is Shaffer's ability to find ways that the scrapbooks reflect common tourism expectations and commercial travel products while highlighting the personality of the scrapbook maker. As a result, we are able to see the traveling secretary as a part of the tourism enterprise and as an individual with particular tastes and ideas related to her travel experiences.

This is important in view of critical literature (both humanistic and social scientific) that often generalizes individual tourist motivations.

Two other articles are devoted to more practical or applied aspects of southwestern tourism. William Bryan, Jr., offers a useful critique of recent attempts to develop a more "appropriate" or sustainable approach to cultural tourism. Bryan praises three "working experiments" in Arizona, but also decries the fact that these examples are anomalies in an industry that, for the most part, proceeds with little caution for human and environmental consequences. In a more positive vein, Susan Guyette and David White describe their efforts to develop a strategy of cross-cultural tourism planning, based mostly on their work with southwestern Indian communities.

The final two articles are concerned with issues related to urban tourism in the Southwest. Char Miller offers an interesting account of economic ramifications of San Antonio's revitalization as a tourist town, and Hal Rothman provides an entertaining interpretation of Las Vegas, which might be said to have invented postmodern tourism before there even was such a term.

The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture is well worth reading, both for what it has to convey about the multiple features and myriad consequences of southwestern tourism and for its interdisciplinary nature. The strengths may contribute to some relatively minor weaknesses. The essays vary somewhat in the force and credibility of their arguments. Several seem too abstract in a critical or literary sense or, in a couple of cases, a bit too self-congratulatory, offering only limited evidence for their nonetheless intriguing conclusions. It seems clear that if all of the authors talked to each other, there would be a number of significant disagreements regarding the consequences of tourism and how tourism is best studied. The disagreements are inevitable; it would have been helpful to identify and discuss some of the differences.

The book also treats issues related to authenticity and significance—in some cases suggesting that tourism is a clear threat to "the real." In other instances, the authors argue that the concept of authenticity might itself be a by-product of touristic encounters, and hint that significance and representational authority might be better measures of what is going on than authenticity. Again, sorting through these differences would be helpful.

If the American Southwest is not the model for tourism—either historically or in our time—it still provides one of the more compelling instances of the complexity of tourism's consequences. This is a thought-provoking and worthwhile book.

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Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach

By Jill Marie Koelling. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, in cooperation with the American Association for State and Local History, 2004; II2 pp., illustrations, notes; cloth \$69.00; paper \$24.95.

By the time the Library of Congress/Ameritech National Digital Library (NDL) Competition had officially come to an end in March 2003, the award program (1996-1999) had succeeded in helping 33 libraries, archives, museums, and historical societies across the country digitize collections of historical materials and make them available online as part of the library's American Memory website (http://memory.loc.gov/). Among criteria used for evaluating Ameritech NDL award applications were the significance of the collections, their usefulness to students and the general public, and technical and administrative viability. Consideration was given to geographical location and the extent to which the collections comple-

mented or otherwise enhanced the Library of Congress's own collections digitized by the NDL program.

When all was said and done, more than 200,000 historical items relating to the American experience—photographs, sheet music, letters, diaries, and books, to name a few—had been scanned, catalogued, and released to the public over the Internet. The program also inspired a number of reports and other publications on the participants' experiences, of which *Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach* may be considered one of the most recent.

Jill Marie Koelling worked for seven and a half years as curator of photographs and head of digital imaging at the Nebraska State Historical Society, an Ameritech NDL award winner in 1997-1998, and her book is a distillation of that institution's experience with its first digital project, Prairie Settlement: A Story of Determination, and the many others that followed. The title, Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach, is somewhat of a misnomer. While practical in the "how-to" sense of the term, the book reaches beyond the technical aspects of the process to highlight the myriad decisions that must be made and the shifts in thinking about preservation and access that must occur at historical societies, libraries, and other collecting institutions contemplating an integrated digitization program. With its combination of technical information, reading list, examples, illustrations, and lessons learned—all interwoven with refreshingly comprehensible prose—the book dovetails nicely with other volumes of the American Association for State and Local History book series and will serve digital imaging novices both inside and outside the history and museum professions equally well.

Although unconventional (which the author herself admits), Koelling's idea of beginning *Digital Imaging* with a glossary of terms so that her core audience of collection managers, curators, museum directors, registrars, and collections volunteers

can "speak 'digital'" accounts for the book's effectiveness as a digital imaging primer for custodians of historical records. These days, the release of a For Dummies reference book is as good a gauge as any of the absorption rate into the American mainstream of what was once considered esoteric or highly specialized. While Digital Imaging is hardly for dummies and unlikely to help its readers "compose top-notch sports, travel, and people pictures" as Digital Photography...for Dummies (IDG Books, 2003) claims, Koelling's book is written and arranged in such a way that it will appeal even to those who might not need or want to eat, drink, and sleep digital imaging but who realize they can no longer ignore the virtual elephant in the room.

Koelling demystifies digital imaging by defining the technical terms up front and then presenting processes and concepts in ways that are intellectually accessible to the digital imaging novice. Readers are less likely to emerge from the book speaking digital (Koelling actually keeps the digital-speak to a minimum) than feeling more comfortable with the terminology and more confident about incorporating digital imaging and digitization programs into their daily work.

Digital Imaging covers issues central to the success and sustainability of digitization programs in libraries and museums, such as project planning and management, ethics, technical specifications, metadata, and cataloging. Whereas the NDL established specific requirements in some of these areas, award winners were on their own when it came to the others. Koelling includes alternative approaches and solutions, most notably those of the Utah State Historical Society, a 1998-1999 Ameritech NDL award recipient, and the Colorado Digitization Program, so that readers are less likely to come away from the book thinking "this is how Nebraska did it" than "this is how it ought to be done."

Metadata standards for digital imaging are probably the hardest concept to sell, but they are among

the most important features of a successful and sustainable digitization program. Perhaps one reason metadata lacks the appeal of, say, a scanner or a digital camera is that the effects of a standardized method for recording information about an image file might not be seen or felt for years. Today, practically every collecting institution recognizes the benefits of institution-wide standards for organizing and describing items in its custody, even if the institution may be light-years away from integrating its collections databases (the Holy Grail of the virtual library world).

In the broader digital imaging world—where metadata is still considered esoteric and where compliance with MARC, Dublin Core, or any other standard is usually voluntary, and where inexpensive scanners, digital cameras, and database application software proliferate—any library, archivist, or collector anywhere with the financial means to do so can implement a digitization program. Although Koelling does not dwell on metadata, she leaves no doubt about the value and potential of Dublin Core and other standards over the long term. The measure of the success of Digital Imaging may well be the extent to which Internet searches across collections and across collecting institutions, whether large or small, are mundane realities 10 years from now because digital imagers took Koelling's practical advice to heart.

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